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the world. Then look at the intercourse by correspondence. The fact of the exemption of America from a standing army, and the blessings enjoyed there, were being carried to the homes of all the people of Europe.

He then alluded to the old castles of England, and to the serried towers of the Rhine, all speaking of a past age, of dark and bloody times, and which were testifying of better things already come; that the days of darkness and blood had passed away. He alluded to the Mexican war, to the injustice of it; that ministers had prayed that the names of those responsible for it might be made to rot with those of the wicked; that our nation had spent \$150,000,000 in that unjust war, and paid at least \$15,000,000 for territory which could have been purchased at half the rate before the war. He said that war was a system in which individual responsibility was lost, so that the persons engaged in it did not feel that they were doing wrong, however wrongful the war and its origin may have been. Thus it was with Gen. Gaines, one of the first of our Generals; he could go all through the country lecturing on the horrors of war. He was a peace man; so was Gen. Taylor; yet they would turn out at the command of the Government to fight, and feel themselves guiltless of the consequences.

HINTS FOR PEACE FROM GOVERNMENTAL DOCUMENTS.

CUSTOM, if not law, requires from the Executive, at the opening of every session of Congress, an exposé of what has been done in its various departments during the year, and of what is likely to be needed the ensuing year; and, as the Message of the President, and the Reports of his several Secretaries, generally present the clearest, fullest, and most reliable view we can get of our national policy and prospects, it would be well for every citizen to examine these annual documents with care. We are wont ourselves to do so; and, having pondered, and tried to analyze the documents of this kind lately put forth by the Executive, we would call attention to a few points which seem to us worthy of careful reflection.

I. WAR EXPENSES OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT. — The chief expenses of *our* preparations for war is found in the militia system, which has generally cost the country, in one way and another, twice or thrice as much as both the army and the navy; but the latter have come to absorb an enormous share of our national income, and threaten to rival ere long those of war-ridden Europe.

1. *The Army, or War Department.* — The following is an abstract of the estimates for the current fiscal year: —

PAY DEPARTMENT.			
For pay, subsistence, &c. for the Army,	-	-	\$2,807,127
For pay, subsistence, &c. for Military Academy, West Point,	-	-	90,593
For expenses of the office,	-	-	10,900
			<hr/> \$2,908,620
ORDNANCE BUREAU.			
Amount of estimates,	-	-	989,815
For expenses of the office,	-	-	9,500
			<hr/> 999,315

THIRD AUDITOR.			
Arrearages prior to July 1, 1815,	-	-	\$2,500
COMMISSARY GENERAL OF SUBSISTENCE.			
For subsistence in kind,	-	-	1,076,015
For office expenses,	-	-	9,450
			1,085,465
SURGEON GENERAL.			
For medical supplies for the Army,	-	-	67,395
For office expenses,	-	-	3,925
			71,320
TOPOGRAPHICAL BUREAU.			
For surveys,	-	-	120,000
For rivers and harbors,	-	-	1,052,676
For roads,	-	-	70,000
For light-houses,	-	-	33,102
For office expenses,	-	-	6,650
			1,282,428
COMMANDING GENERAL.			
For office expenses,	-	-	1,800
ADJUTANT GENERAL.			
For three months' extra pay,	-	-	10,000
For expenses of recruiting,	-	-	54,048
For office expenses,	-	-	11,950
			75,998
QUARTER MASTER GENERAL.			
For regular supplies,	-	-	1,260,000
For incidental expenses,	-	-	450,000
For barracks, quarters, &c.	-	-	800,000
For purchase of horses,	-	-	120,000
For transporting officers' baggage,	-	-	120,000
For transporting troops,	-	-	2,000,000
For clothing for the army, &c.	-	-	242,538
For office expenses,	-	-	13,290
For extra clerks,	-	-	5,000
			5,000,828
ENGINEER BUREAU.			
For fortifications, &c.	-	-	739,300
For Military Academy, West Point,	-	-	51,935
For office expenses,	-	-	6,900
			798,135
WAR DEPARTMENT PROPER.			
For salaries, &c.	-	-	17,850
For contingent expenses,	-	-	4,500
For W. W. Executive Buildings contingencies, &c.	-	-	6,250
For rented buildings, rent, &c.	-	-	25,525
			54,125
THIRD AUDITOR.			
For preventing and suppressing Indian hostilities,	-	-	75,000
Aggregate estimate for 1852,	-	-	\$12,290,535
Arrearages, amounting to the aggregate,	-	-	1,369,357
Total amount of Estimates asked for,	-	-	\$13,659,892

Here are nearly *fourteen millions*, without including some very large items properly belonging to it, such as the Indian department, Land Bounties, and Pensions to crippled warriors, and the descendants of those who died or were disabled in the service. Such pensions alone amounted last year to no less than \$1,400,000!

Just note the expenses of the West Point Military Academy — \$142,528, besides the interest on several millions of dollars, we believe, permanently invested in the establishment, and a multitude of incidental charges for its support; all this spent mainly on the sons of *rich* men, whose favor is thus conciliated at the public expense by men in power.

2. *The Navy Department.* — The Secretary, in giving “the report of the respective heads of this department,” states “the sum total of the appropriations required for all objects under its supervision,” to be \$8,111,601, which he claims to be “less by more than one million of dollars than were the estimates for the present year.” The total amount drawn from the treasury during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1850, as shown by the statement of appropriations for the naval service, prepared by the Second Comptroller of the Treasury, is,

	\$9,691,805 61
From which deduct repayments,	1,799,913 67

And there is left the sum of	\$7,891,891 94
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as the expenditures on all objects under the control of this Department.

Mark, then, the sum total of these *partial* estimates for the army and navy, viz.: Army, \$13,659,892; Navy, \$8,111,601; total, \$21,771,493. Nearly twenty-two millions, besides a variety of other items properly belonging to our war expenses, which would increase the aggregate to several millions more.

3. *Pensions.* — These come under the head of expenses for war purposes: for such pensions, by a strange sort of partiality, are given to no other class of public servants than officers and privates in the army and navy. We should be glad to see a full and accurate account of all the moneys paid and pledged for this purpose, the aggregate of which would probably astound most of our citizens; but we will now confine ourselves to the facts stated by the Secretary of the Interior in his recent report, from which it appears that “the whole number of persons now on the pension rolls of the United States is 19,758,” which, at \$100 each, would absorb \$1,975,800, nearly two millions.

Revolutionary Pensioners under the act of March 18, 1818	\$20,485
Added by the act of May 15, 1828	1,152
By the act of June 7, 1832	32,788
Widows and orphans of revolutionary soldiers pensioned by act of July 4, 1836	4,984
By act of July 7, 1838	11,002
By act of April 29, 1848	686

Total of the Revolutionary War	\$71,097
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We have no data for ascertaining or guessing the sum total expended on this entire list of pensioners; but some of them have drawn pensions more than thirty years, inasmuch as 1,523 of the 20,485 pensioned in March, 1818, nearly thirty-three years ago, are still on the rolls. It is obvious at a glance, that a vast amount of money must already have been bestowed on these revolutionary pensioners. If we suppose them on an average to have annually drawn but \$50 each for only fifteen years, the sum total would be \$52,500,000 for this class of pensioners alone.

Next come the *invalid* pensioners, increased during the year 627, and now

amounting to 4,742. " Under the act of the 21st July, 1848, and the supplementary act of 22d February, 1849, and the joint resolution of the 18th September, 1850, allowing pensions to the widows and orphans of soldiers who were killed in the Mexican war, or died from disease contracted in the service, the number pensioned is 1,456."

Here is the secretary's aggregate of pensions in his own Department :—

Estimate for year ending 30th June, 1851	-	-	-	-	\$1,479,256	78
Add deficiency embraced in present estimate					364,688	45
Aggregate chargeable to year ending 30th June 1851	-	-	-	-	1,843,945	23
Estimate for the year ending 30th June, 1852	-	-	-	-	2,624,726	31
Deduct estimate for deficiency of year ending 30th June, 1851	-	-	-	-	364,688	45
Aggregate chargeable to year ending 30th June, 1852	-	-	-	-	2,260,037	86
Excess of present estimate over the expenditure of the year ending 30th June, 1851	-	-	-	-	416,092	63

This excess embraces the anticipated increase of expenditure occasioned by the extension of the benefits of the pension laws, and by the administration of the bounty land law, so far as it devolves on the Pension Office.

It would seem, from these and many other like facts, as if there were no end to paying the debts of war. Indeed, we are not yet through with paying even the direct expenses of the Revolutionary war; for the Secretary of the Interior tells us "there has been paid since first November, 1849, on account of revolutionary service of Virginia State troops and navy, \$88,060 30, and, as commutation or half-pay and interest, \$138,543 44;" a total of \$226,603 74 to a single State. This, too, sixty-seven years after the close of that war!

4. *Land Warrants.* These are another species or mode of compensation for military services, and clearly a part of our war expenses. From the vast domain at its disposal, Congress has, from time to time, made immense grants towards the men who fought our battles.

For revolutionary services, both officers and privates	-	-	12,588
For services in the war of 1812	-	-	28,978
For services in the Mexican war	-	-	84,705

\$ 126,271

The act of Congress, passed September 5, 1850, "the general bounty-land law," called forth in *a single month* no less than 9,418 applications or claims; "and the number," says the Secretary, "is increasing rapidly, scarcely a mail arriving which does not swell the list. The whole number of persons who, if living, would be entitled to the benefit of that law, would exceed *half a million!*" The Commissioner, startled by this avalanche of claimants, almost ten thousand a month, consoles himself, or would fain soothe the people, with the assurance, "that one-half are dead;" but we opine his department will find to its sorrow, that this tribe of claimants do not die so easy or so fast, and we shall be disappointed, if nearly the whole half million are not forthcoming in the end.

But let us take, as the basis of our estimates, only the 126,000 land-warrants as stated above, and see the sum total of their value. Congress awarded to soldiers in the Mexican war, each 160 acres of government land, the regular price of which is \$1.25 an acre, at which rate the 126,000 warrants

would amount to \$25,200,000; and, at the same rate, the half million of additional claims mentioned by the Secretary as possible, would reach \$100,000,000. Reduce these estimates as much as you can, and still there will remain a vast amount of the public property lavished on the *military* servants of the republic.

INCREASE OF EXPENSES BY THE MEXICAN WAR.

Since the foregoing was written, we have received the elaborate Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, from which we take some startling accounts and estimates of what the war with Mexico has already cost, and is likely yet to cost, ourselves alone, exceeding our own calculations, and reaching the enormous sum of \$217,175,000 for expenditures and liabilities already ascertained, besides scores on scores of millions more yet to come.

COMPARATIVE EXPENSES OF DIFFERENT PERIODS. — The Secretary takes for comparison three periods: —

1. Three years preceding the Mexican War, when the annual expenses of our government averaged \$25,410,180.

2. Three years from June 30, 1846, including the war, \$45,729,883, not the whole expense, because the greater part was put into a national debt.

3. Three years from June 30, 1848, \$41,702,251.

"It thus appears that these largely-increased expenditures commenced in the year 1845-'46, and in consequence of the war with Mexico; and it will be shown that by reason of our new acquisitions of territory, and the fulfilment of the obligations of the government resulting from that war, a continuance of these expenditures will be required for an indefinite period.

Annexed are statements showing the total annual expenditures, exclusive of the payments on account of the public debt, as made and estimated to be made under the direction of the several heads of departments for the years ending 30th June, 1846-'47-'48-'49-'50-'51 and '52, or the seven years subsequent to the declaration of war with Mexico. Also, a statement showing the quantities and values of the public lands required to satisfy warrants issued, and to be issued, under the several acts granting lands, distinguishing, of such expenditures and values, those occasioned by said war from those demanded by the otherwise ordinary requirements of the Government upon the peace establishment prior to said war.

The actual and estimated expenditures for the seven years ending on the 30th June, 1852, amount to	-	-	-	\$294,807,407 95
The expenditures for the year ending 30th June, 1845, the year immediately preceding the war with Mexico, having been \$21,380,049 36, the aggregate expenditures for the seven succeeding years upon that basis, would have amounted to	-	-	-	149,660,345 52

Showing an excess over the peace establishment of 1845, of	-	-	-	\$145,147,062 43
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This excess of expenditures is to be accounted for as follows:

The actual and estimated expenditures of the War Department for seven years subsequent to the declaration of the war with Mexico are	-	-	-	\$117,876,495 31
Under peace establishment of 1845, as before stated, they would have been	-	-	-	35,643,749 54
Excess occasioned by said war	-	-	-	\$82,232,745 77
The actual and estimated expenditures of the Navy Department amount to	-	-	-	\$62,659,331 74
Would have been as per statement I.	-	-	-	43,600,473 63
Excess	-	-	-	\$19,058,858 11

(This excess, from the organization of the Navy Department, and the indefinite manner of making appropriations, cannot be more specifically stated.)		
Pensions paid, under acts of 1848, to 30th June, 1850	- -	\$1,198,141 18
Do. estimated for 1851 and 1852	- -	1,525,000 00
Indians in new territory to 30th June, 1852	- -	204,830 40
Instalments and interest under 12th article of treaty with Mexico	- -	16,388,396 37
Payment of liquidated claims against Mexico, per act 29th July, 1848	- -	2,089,578 84
Renewal of diplomatic intercourse with Mexico	- -	37,560 61
Expenses of the Board of Commissioners on Mexican claims	- -	44,428 39
Survey of boundary line between United States and Mexico	- -	335,000 00
Survey of coast of California	- -	200,000 00
Light-houses, dry-dock, custom-house, and marine hospital in California	- -	640,000 00
Territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico,	- -	147,300 00
Expenses of loans and Treasury notes (war)	- -	150,879 41
Amount to 1852 occasioned by war	- -	\$124,252,719 08
And for other objects not included in the sum as the expenditures for 1845, made in pursuance of acts of the Government during a period subsequent to 3d March, 1845, and prior to 4th March, 1849, including Post Office Deficiencies and Census as follows:		
Seventh Census	- -	1,276,000 00
Erection of Patent Office	- -	600,000 00
Supplying deficiencies in Post Office Department and for Department mail matter	- -	1,768,752 57
Expenses of collecting the revenue from customs, lands, &c. never exhibited in the expenditures prior to 30th June, 1849	- -	6,813,557 95
Expenditures on account of Smithsonian Institute	- -	412,134 70
Refunding duties, debentures, drawbacks, bounties, &c.	- -	2,923,156 36
Building revenue cutters, before paid out of the accruing revenue	- -	101,999 50
To which sum of	- -	138,148,330 10
may be added for building light-houses, beacons, buoys, &c.	- -	974,795 26
Marine hospitals, custom-houses, and support thereof	- -	1,288,741 87
Increase of expenditures in the legislative, executive, and judiciary Departments, the sum of	- -	4,205,751 50
And for miscellaneous items not enumerated	- -	529,443 64
		<u>\$145,147,062 43</u>
Sum as above to 30th June, 1852, chargeable to the war	- -	\$124,252,719 08
To which may be added interest on war debt to 30th June, 1852	- -	13,387,544 06
Interest on war debt from 30th June, '52, to maturity	- -	41,173,493 38
Public lands granted and to be granted as estimated	- -	17,346,750 00
Claims pending and estimated by Third Auditor,	- -	765,069 37
Texas boundary stock to be issued	- -	10,000,000 00
Interest on do. for 14 years, at 5 per cent.	- -	7,000,000 00
Mexican claims per treaty, stock to be issued	- -	3,250,000 00

Thus we have as expenditures and liabilities chargeable directly to said war, and the acquisitions of territory consequent upon the treaty of peace, the sum of - - - \$217,175,575 89

This does not include many claims presented and to be presented, arising indirectly from the war, their great variety forbidding even an approximation either as to number or amount."

Is not this "paying dear for the whistle?" All the advantages accruing to us from the Mexican war, might probably have been bought for some ten or twenty millions; but they are, it seems from the above facts and estimates, likely to cost us in the end some three hundred millions, besides incidental losses of a nature not to be calculated with any certainty.

INCREASE OF CURRENT EXPENSES FOR THE NEXT YEAR BY THE WAR. — Here are the Secretary's estimates: —

"The estimated expenditures for the year ending 30th June, 1852, are				\$48,124,993 18
The expenditures under the peace establishment of 1845, exclusive				
of the public debt, were				21,380,049 36
Excess for the year ending 30th June, 1852				\$26,744,943 82
By reference to statements it will be seen, that of these estimated expenditures				
for the year ending 30th June, 1852, the excess over the expenditures for the year				
1845, required by the War Department in consequence of the war and our new ter-				
ritories, is				
				\$6,002 658 43
Navy Department	-	-	-	3,930,736 00
Pension acts of 1848	-	-	-	849,000 00
Mexican instalments and interest	-	-	-	3,189,000 00
Survey of boundary line	-	-	-	100,000 00
Light houses, dry-docks, &c. in California	-	-	-	300,000 00
Territorial governments, Utah and New Mexico	-	-	-	70,290 00
Interest on public debt	-	-	-	3,665,321 03
Indians in new territories	-	-	-	130,800 00
Collection of the revenue from customs, bounties, &c. not included				
in 1845				3,484,775 04
Expenses land sales do. do.	-	-	-	170,290 00
Patent Office	-	-	-	350,000 00
Payment on account of the principal of the public debt	-	-	-	643,548 00
Survey of the coast of California	-	-	-	100,000 00
Smithsonian Institute	-	-	-	30,910 14
Deficiencies in Post Office Department	-	-	-	200,000 00
				\$23,199,148 64

By deducting this aggregate of excess, \$23,199,148 64, from the aggregate estimated expenditures for the year ending 30th June, 1852, of \$48,124,993 18, there will remain, as the estimated ordinary expenditures, the sum of \$24,925,844 54."

More than \$48,000,000 for our next fiscal year! Some \$25,000,000 more than our expenses would have been but for the Mexican war, and nearly four times as large as they were in 1828 under the administration of John Quincy Adams, when they were, as stated by Secretary Corwin, only \$12,530,846.

INCREASE OF OUR WAR EXPENSES. — During the administration of Washington, our expenses for the army and navy were less than \$11,000,000 in eight years, or an average of \$1,365,000 a year. Now they are some \$22,000,000; more than twice as much in one year as then in eight years; an increase of more than 1600 per cent. ! In this matter we are certainly following in the footsteps of European despots fast enough to overtake them in less than one-quarter of the time it has taken them to accumulate war-debts to the amount of *ten thousand million dollars*, and to reach an expenditure for war purposes of *one thousand millions a year* ! Is it not time for the people to inquire into this matter?

II. FAVORITISM SHOWN TO MILITARY MEN. — This may be seen in a variety of particulars; but take as a specimen that of pensions and land-bounties. Who ever heard of such rewards to any other class of public servants? No; let men of the loftiest intellect, and the profoundest and most extensive learning, serve their country ever so well, or ever so long, nobody dreams of rewarding them and their posterity with pensions; but, if a lazy, reckless, profligate wretch, with little capacity and still less disposition for anything else, suffers himself to be inveigled by a recruiting officer with his drunken appliances into the low, brutal business of butchering his fellow-

men, he is supposed by *such* services to create for himself a life-long claim on the government for his support, and after his death, for that of his widow and children !

It would be amusing, if the thing were not so glaringly absurd and unjust, to observe the shallow apologies offered for this sort of favoritism by our public men, nearly all cringing and fawning before the Moloch of war as if it were the chief idol of the people. The President himself "earnestly recommends the enactment of a law authorizing officers of the army and navy to be retired from the service, when incompetent for its vigorous and active duties, taking care to make suitable provision for those who have faithfully served their country, and awarding distinctions, by retaining in appropriate commands, those who have been particularly conspicuous for gallantry and good conduct. While the obligation of the country to maintain and honor those, who, to the exclusion of other pursuits, have devoted themselves to its arduous service, this obligation should not be permitted to interfere with the efficiency of the service itself."

Now, we venture to say, that our military and naval officers no more "exclude themselves from other pursuits," than men do in any employment whatever, and that hardly any class of public servants render on an average so small an amount of service as they do for the compensation they receive. We cannot here go into details in proof of this assertion; but we defy contradiction, and challenge a thorough inquiry into the facts of the case. Take the swarms of captains, lieutenants and midshipmen in our navy; and how much hard labor, how much service of any real value, have they performed for the country during the last thirty years? What can they show in return for the millions on millions lavished upon them every year? Yet all this, it seems, is not enough; the country must pension them through life for these meagre and comparatively worthless services. Indeed, it is political heresy to question this time-hallowed imposition on the people; and every argument, every complaint, every doubt is silenced not by facts or any decent show of logic, but by a chorus of undeserved, fulsome compliments to these "noble fellows," these "brave defenders of their country," "our gallant navy, the right arm of our defence, the nation's glory." It is by such miserable delusions that we are duped into spending some eight or ten millions a year for what is of little or no use, and pensioning through life a class of epauletted drones, that never fairly earned in their palmiest days one-half of what they received at the time for their services.

A man who thinks for himself, can hardly repress a smile on hearing the President and his Secretary expatiate on the important services of our navy in "giving protection to our commerce and other national interests in the different quarters of the globe." It seems that our war-ships are scattered "in six different squadrons" over the globe; but, if they were all moored and dismantled at our navy-yards, and our merchant-vessels left to rely on the integrity of their dealings, and the kindness of their intercourse with the people they visit in the various parts of the earth, they would be in the long run even more safe than they now are. We are well aware that these

ideas may seem strange enough to men whose opinions on such subjects float on the common current of ages ; but a little independent reflection would soon convince them of the substantial truth of what we say, and the essential, egregious folly of squandering, as we do, upon our navy for the protection of commerce, more than all the net profits of our whole shipping ! Indeed, we are gravely informed of one government steamer employed on the upper lakes (!) for the protection of our commerce there. Protection ! — against what ? Almost as well might the government employ companies of marines to ride back and forth upon our railways for the *protection* of freight and passengers !

We mean, by what we have here said, nothing in the way of personal reflections. We have indeed small acquaintance with the army or the navy, but doubt not that, even in a soil so poor, there may be found intelligence, virtue, and even piety. We aim to condemn merely the system, and would reflect on the character or conduct of its agents and supporters only so far as that may seem to illustrate and enforce our views of this system as wrong in principle, well nigh useless in its alleged services, and for the most part positively injurious in its results.

III. MILITARY PUNISHMENTS. — Our readers remember that Congress, at its last session, abolished flogging in the navy ; and this long and much needed reform has greatly troubled the lords of the lash, and driven them to various devices for either evading its design, or supplying its place with something equally severe. It would seem that the officers of the navy have complained, and certainly have succeeded in stimulating the department to efforts for their relief. The matter has been submitted to a board of high officers for inquiry ; and the result is likely to be a thorough revision of the rules which regulate, or *should* regulate, the infliction of penalties. This discussion throws not a little incidental light on the essential barbarities of the discipline heretofore prescribed or tolerated by law in the army and the navy. The Secretary tells us in effect, that the abolition of flogging, like a piece of new cloth patched upon an old garment, just shows the rottenness of the whole system, and reveals the necessity of an entire revision.

“The deficiency of the Articles of War for the government of the navy, have been so repeatedly brought to the attention of Congress by the reports of my predecessors, that I would content myself on this head by general reference to them, but for the alteration made in these articles by a clause in the appropriation act of the last session. As the department construes that act, the punishment by whipping for any crime or offence, whether by the judgment of a court martial, or the summary command of the chief officer of a ship, is totally abolished. Deferring entirely to this decision of the Legislature, I deem it my duty to remind them that the act in question has imposed on them the duty of revising the whole system of offences and punishments in the navy without delay. Both officers and seamen should be early informed, not only what is the rule of their conduct, but what penalty will be incurred in case of its violation. The punishment by whipping entered so largely into the code heretofore existing since the foundation of the navy, that its abolition has left in the hands of authority but few other sanctions than those of death and imprisonment. And its simple prohibi-

tion, without any other change of the system, leaves the offender still exposed to the extreme penalty of human law, to which stripes were, in many instances, only a milder alternative.

Thus, article 14. 'No officer or private in the navy shall disobey the lawful orders of his superior officer, or strike him, or draw, or offer to draw, or raise any weapon against him, while in the execution of the duties of his office, on pain of death.

Art. 17. If any person in the navy shall desert, or shall entice others to desert, he shall suffer death.

Art. 20. If any person in the navy shall sleep upon his watch, or negligently perform the duty assigned him, or leave his station before regularly relieved, he shall suffer death.'

It is manifest, therefore, that in all such cases, involving the sentences of courts-martial, the recent legislation *has in no degree abated the severity of the naval code.*'

Such is the bloody and brutal code of discipline for the navy of a nominally civilized, Christian people, in this noon of the nineteenth century. For such paltry offences are men sentenced, not only to be whipped with the cat worse than brutes, but to be shot in cold blood. And military officers, men who *ought* to know, tell us in all earnestness, that such severity, such brutality of punishment is indispensable to the very existence of a well-disciplined, efficient army or navy. If so, then we say, an army or a navy is an intolerable nuisance, a deep and burning shame upon any nation calling itself either Christian or civilized. If it cannot live without such brutalities, let it die; the sooner the better; humanity would hold a jubilee over its grave.

IV. COMPARATIVE COST AND UTILITY OF THE PEACE AND THE WAR DEPARTMENTS. — We have already given the cost of the war department, nearly \$22,000,000 this year in specified items, with enough more to make it some \$25,000,000 in all; while the Post Office, to take this as a specimen of the peace department, cost the last year \$5,212,953, not one quarter as much as the army and the navy. And this sum has not only paid the expenses of the department at Washington, but supported 18,517 post offices, and transported the mails nearly 46,000,000 miles to more than twenty millions of people, carrying every week, sometimes twice or thrice a day, letters, and newspapers, and periodicals, food for the mind, anodyne for the heart, and facilities of business, almost to every man's door through a whole year; all for less than one-quarter of the money squandered on our war-system even in peace! In comparison with the benefits of our post office department, what have the army and the navy together done the last year for the good of the country? Admitting them, if you will, to be more or less necessary and useful, have they in the whole year done as much good in return for the twenty-two millions wasted on them, as the post office department has in one month or one week for the five millions it has cost?

V. Yet mark how differently these departments are treated in respect to the *mode of their support*. The army and the navy are a dead charge on the government; they pay nothing, earn nothing, for their own support, and perform, with some few and slight exceptions in the way of engineer-

ing, exploring expeditions, and coast surveys, no services of any estimable value in return for the \$22,000,000 they consume every year. Nobody dreams of requiring *them* to support themselves; while the post office department must not only pay its own way, but earn enough, or filch enough from the people in return for its services, to pay the expense of transmitting the letters and documents of nearly all persons in the employ of the government. Indeed, the very rulers who are so recklessly lavish of expenditures upon the army and the navy, utterly repudiate the idea of charging the national treasury with a single farthing's expense for the support of a department worth more to the people's prosperity and happiness, than a hundred armies or navies, and seem to calculate on the increase of their popularity, by keeping up the highest charges for postage to earn a few dollars more to be wasted on the all-devouring Moloch of war. Our government has ever shown itself, in this most useful of all its departments, little and mean. It has even chaffered and higgled, like a Jew in the market, or a Yankee peddler at your door, for a half-cent! Look at its contemptible addition of half a cent on periodicals, just to put into its own pocket the additional half-cent almost invariably paid because we have no actual currency so small as the government's avarice in this paltry business. Observe how uniformly it construes everything doubtful in favor of itself *against* the people, and is sure to charge us even for its own blunders in mis-carrying what is sent through the mails. We confess ourselves heartily sick of this truckling to the war-spirit, this exalting of the war department over every other, this reckless wasting of millions on millions for war purposes even in peace, while every cent possible is filched from the people in all the really useful departments of the government.

VI. INTERMINABLE LEGACIES OF WAR. — War would seem to be a bottomless gulf of expense; we can hardly name a government in all Christendom that has yet filled it up. Most persons suppose that, when a war is over, and its bills paid, or put into the form of a national debt, there is an end of its expenses; but we find that nearly seventy years have not sufficed to pay off the claims for our revolutionary war; we know not how many are still outstanding for the war of 1812; and Omniscience alone can foresee when we shall get through with the liabilities consequent on the late war with Mexico. Nearly twenty millions for purchase of territory, and for discharge of indemnity claims; ten millions more promised by Congress at its late session to Texas; 30,000 land-warrants or more still coming to soldiers in that war, with half a million or less of claimants under the recent land-bounty law; an endless series of claims for losses incurred by individuals during the war; the number of Indians on our frontiers nearly doubled, and thus furnishing an effective plea for increasing our army several thousands, with a consequent addition of two or three millions to the expense of the war department! When and where is all this to end? If the moneyed institutions in the land should unite in a pledge to discharge all the costs and liabilities of the Mexican war for \$300,000,000, they would probably find it in the end a ruinous bargain.